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Correspondence respecting Slavery and the Slave Trade in East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

[In continuation of "Africa No. 4 (1901)."]

No. 1.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received March 20.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, February 21, 1902.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith reports from the Slavery Commissioners in Zanzibar and Pemba on the working of the Decree for the abolition of slavery during the year 1901.

The number of slaves freed by the Courts in the course of last year was 844, of whom 589 received their papers in Zanzibar and 255 in the sister island. The slaves freed by their masters during the same period numbered 624, so that altogether 9,468 persons have been emancipated since the date of the last report.

The total number freed by the Courts since the abolition of the legal status of slavery is shown by the following Table:—

Year.	Zanzibar.	Pemba.	Total.
April 1897 to April 1898	469	778	1,247
April to December 1898	704	1,316	2,024
1899	1,427	2,230	3,657
1900	1,126	594	1,720
1901	589	255	844
Total	4,315	5,173	9,488

In addition to these, emancipation has been voluntarily granted and registered in 3,776 cases, so that in either one way or the other 13,264 slaves have received their freedom during the last five years. The assistance of the Courts has also been invoked in adjusting the relations between master and slave, and some 4,000 labour contracts have been drawn up and signed in cases where the slave, whilst not wishing to apply for his freedom, was anxious to have his rights and liabilities more clearly and accurately defined. These cases, although they cannot be reckoned as instances of emancipation, are nevertheless useful as showing the extent to which the servile population of this country has been favourably affected by the operation of the Decree.

It will be observed from the above Table that the number of freedom papers granted by the Courts in 1900, and again in 1901, was less than half the number recorded in the previous twelve months, the total for the past year being by far the lowest of the series. Several circumstances conduce to this result.

In the first place an unusually heavy rainfall enabled the servile classes in agricultural districts to grow such abundant crops of the various kinds of grain, fruit, and vegetables on which they depend for their food supply that they had not only enough for themselves, but a sufficient margin with which to make a respectable profit in the neighbouring towns and villages, and consequently there was little inducement for them to leave the plantations on which they were employed.

Secondly, the conditions of slave labour have been considerably improved by the knowledge, which is shared by master and slave alike, that freedom can be had for the asking, and there is therefore the less need to abandon the servile status.

And lastly, the rush for freedom which took place when the Decree first became known has apparently expended itself, the slaves who had real cause for complaint or real longings for emancipation, as well as those who were attracted by a sense of novelty or by visions of idleness and indulgence, have had their desires satisfied, and the remainder

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have made up their minds that it is better to remain as they are in comparative peace and contentment than to tempt Providence in some new and untried form. A certain number of applicants will continue to drop into the Courts—more if the agricultural conditions are bad, less if they are good; and the number will very possibly be affected by the success or failure of the system of labour contracts and labour bureaux which will be subsequently referred to, but I do not anticipate that under normal conditions the applications for freedom will ever again reach the figures recorded in the first few years during which the Decree was in operation. If the conditions were abnormal, in the event, for instance, of a partial or total failure of the clove crop, the Courts would probably be kept busily employed, but in the absence of any such adventitious circumstances the process of emancipation will continue to be a gradual one, and domestic slavery will only be finally abolished with the end of the present generation. It will, however, die a peaceful as well as a lingering death, and its last hours will not be attended by the fiscal and economic disturbances which would inevitably have followed the adoption of more drastic and more inconsiderate measures.

The number of convictions in 1901 for offences such as assault, drunkenness, theft, and vagrancy amounted to 2,543—figures which approximate very closely to those recorded in 1898 before Article 4 of the Decree was brought into force; in the following year they dropped to 1,496, but rose again in 1900, when it was no longer possible to make the grant of emancipation dependent on the production of evidence that the applicant was in possession of adequate means of subsistence, to 2,057. The reduction in the number of vagrancy cases in Pemba, which is alluded to by Mr. Farler, shows that every effort is being made to provide respectable employment for the freed slaves, but under the existing conditions it is impossible to prevent them from embarking, if they are so minded, on a career of idleness and vice. They can be punished for their self-indulgence, but prevention is better than cure, and I venture to think that to make the grant of freedom conditional on the possession by the applicant of an honest intention to be a respectable member of society would, whilst in nowise affecting the successful operation of the Decree, exercise a beneficial influence on the morality of those individuals in whose interests that measure was adopted. And especially is this the case with the women.

In the telegram* which I had the honour to address to your Lordship on the 19th April, 1901, I made the "astounding statement," as it has been described, that nearly every unmarried native woman in Pemba had become a prostitute since the abolition of the legal status of slavery; that statement receives very strong corroboration from Mr. Farler in the accompanying Report, and I fear that it is literally true. In the town of Zanzibar the number of brothels is considerably greater than it was five years ago, and whenever there is cause to enter and search one of these houses, it is generally found that a considerable proportion of its inmates are women who have been freed by the Courts. A little while ago, for instance, it was found necessary to clear away some huts which had been built for immoral purposes on the outskirts of the town, and 75 per cent. of the women who occupied them were found to be freed slaves.

Amongst the lower-class Africans voluntary morality is a virtue almost unknown; in the old days, before the abolition of the legal status of slavery, any laxity in this respect on the part of the female slaves of house or harem was severely punished and chastity was to a certain extent compulsory, but now, when every Arab master or mistress is well aware that any severity or restraint will be met by an immediate application to the Courts, domestic slaves are as free as their emancipated sisters to follow their own inclinations. For these reasons, the issue of the Decree must in any case have been inevitably followed by a considerable increase of immorality, but the extension of the powers of the Courts in the direction which I have indicated would at any rate enable a wholesome check to be put upon the number of women who deliberately adopt prostitution as a profession and depend upon it for a livelihood.

The institution of a system of labour bureaux is an experiment which will be watched with a good deal of interest. The method on which it is being conducted is fully explained in Mr. Farler's Report. Some such system is urgently needed to equalize the supply of labour in the agricultural districts, and, if it is successful, it will at once assist the Arab planters to gather a larger portion of their crops than they can under present conditions expect to do, and enable the labourers to accumulate during the clove-picking season a reserve fund which, if they are frugally inclined, will be of great service to them during the remaining months of the year.

The decrease of vagrancy, which has already been noticed, would appear to be principally due to the initiation of a system of labour contracts. These contracts, which

* "Africa No. 4 (1901)," No. 14.

are supplied and registered by the Courts, provide that the freed slave who is engaged under them shall work for his employer on a specified plantation for three days in every week, receiving in return sufficient land for his personal use, care in sickness, materials for building his house, and food until his first crop is gathered. This arrangement appears to be a very fair one, and, being in writing and signed by both parties to it, the liabilities of each to the other are observed with a certain amount of respect, and can, if necessary, be enforced in a Court of Law.

But objection has been taken to this system of labour contracts on the ground that the freed slave who is engaged on the above terms is no better off than he was before he applied for his freedom, or, as one writer puts it, that liberty so obtained "is hampered by conditions which would appear to make it a greater servitude than that from which they (the slaves) have escaped." It has been stated, for instance, that natives, when they have received their freedom, are now sent to distant shambas against their will, and are denied any choice of residence or occupation. This is far from being the case. As a matter of fact, the great majority of those who present themselves at the Courts have already made their own arrangements as to their future, and all that remains to be done is for the contract to be signed; if they have not done so and have no preference for any particular district, they are given the choice of several plantations where more labour is required, and are sent to whichever of these they select. In one case only do I know of this freedom of selection having been interfered with; it was mentioned in a letter which was recently addressed to an English magazine by a member of the Friends' Industrial Mission at Pemba, who complained that a man who had expressed a wish to return to the Mission, where he had already been working, was not allowed to do so, but was sent instead to one of the Government plantations. I inquired into the case and found the facts were as stated, Mr. Farler having refused to allow the man to return to the Mission because, in his opinion, there were already as many freed slaves settled on the land as could be adequately maintained, and because several Arab land-owners had complained to him that the Missionary Society was absorbing, for trading purposes, a far larger proportion of the available labour than it was legitimately entitled to. I did not consider that these were sufficient grounds for interfering with individual freedom of selection, and I therefore addressed to the First Minister of His Highness' Government the letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy herewith.

Again, it has been said that the free man has lost much of the liberty which he enjoyed as a slave in that he cannot leave the plantation to which he is sent without the consent of the Court, and that, if he does so, or if he refuses to work, the Court can punish him. It is perfectly true that the Court will enforce the conditions under which the labourer has agreed to serve—I believe that contracts are occasionally enforced in other countries than Zanzibar—but it is equally true that the same Court will insist on the due fulfilment of the terms on which his employer agreed to utilize his services. The freed slave cannot refuse to do a reasonable amount of work, but, on the other hand, his employer can no longer overwork him, or beat him, or put him in irons, or under-pay him at harvest time, or demand half the money that he earns elsewhere, or neglect him in sickness, or refuse him the means of living an independent and respectable life. The Court, moreover, will never refuse to grant his request for a transfer to another plantation if the grounds on which it is made are in any way reasonable. There are two sides to every bargain, and in this instance I do not think that the freed slave has the worst of it.

And, once again, it is objected that under this system the freed slave cannot, except at harvest time, earn sufficient money to provide himself with clothes and with the few articles which he requires, in addition to food, to satisfy the requirements of his household. But what are the facts of the case? For three days of the week he has to work for his employer, and, as the daily task which is apportioned to him can be got through, if he is fairly industrious, in three or four hours, it is not more than twelve hours' labour that he has to perform in every seven days in return for the various advantages which he enjoys under his contract. For the remainder of the week he is his own master, and can either spend his time in cultivating his own plot of ground or in earning monetary wages elsewhere. If he prefers the former alternative, he can not only grow as much food as he requires for his maintenance and that of his family, but can also cultivate various crops, such as rice, Indian corn, beans, tobacco, sugar-cane, bananas, mohogo (cassava), and ground-nuts, which command a ready sale in the local markets, and he can do this the more readily in that he is allowed, for his own consumption, the free run of the fruit trees on his master's plantation; if he selects to work for cash wages he can do so either on his employer's shamba, where his services are occasionally required for more than the stipulated number of days, or on that of some neighbouring land-owner where paid labour is, perhaps, in greater demand.

At harvest time even his regular employer has to pay him for picking his cloves, so that for seven days in the week during three months of the year he is engaged in piece-work, which is paid for on a liberal scale; the proceeds he can either dissipate in a month's riotous living or employ in the purchase of clothes and other requisites, or invest, as is frequently done by the more thrifty, with a view to eventually becoming a land-owner on a small scale himself—each according to his temperament—but, at any rate, each individual has the opportunity offered him of living a respectable and a fairly prosperous life, and it rests entirely with himself whether he accepts it or not. I venture to think that there are labourers in England who would be glad to be employed on these terms.

The following passage, which I quote from a private letter that I have received from Mr. Farler, forms a fitting commentary to the objections which have been urged against the contract system. He writes: "Yesterday the work of the Court was this, freeing seven slaves, all of whom have previously made their own arrangements as to their future, annulling the contracts of eight freed slaves who, for various reasons, wished to make a change, and witnessing the deed of a woman, a freed slave, who had acquired a shamba by her clove-picking earnings and the sale of her produce."

The question of recruiting labour on the mainland for the purposes of the clove-picking season has already been under your Lordship's consideration. Some fresh proposals on the subject have been recently submitted to Sir Charles Eliot, and will, doubtless, in due course, be laid before His Majesty's Government.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Mr. Last to General Raikes.

Sir, *Zanzibar, February* 6, 1902.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your information, the following Report on the working of the Decree for the abolition of the status of slavery during the year 1901:—

The work of freeing slaves has been steadily carried on during the year, but, as anticipated in my former Reports, the number has not been so great as in previous years.

Several causes have led to this result, chiefly the following: The greater part of the idle and more described slaves has now been freed. The more thoughtful ones have had time to see that the present advantages of freedom are not so great as were at first expected, and it must also be remembered that there is a very great number of slaves who will never apply for freedom, whatever the advantages. These latter are the very old slaves living on the plantations, and also a considerable number of younger slaves, who are so attached to their owners by the ties of respect and regard, and being also in sympathy with them in their present depressed circumstances, that no personal advantages will induce them to desert their owners. The slaves who are thus attached to their owners are generally personal attendants and house-slaves, who have probably been brought up from childhood by their owners, and have received from them the consideration and care which is due from the owners to their slaves, and by this treatment the owners have won the regard and fidelity of their slaves. This kind of thing has been seen sometimes in the old servants of some decayed British homes, and has always been regarded with respect and admirations.

It is quite possible that many slaves are freed who do not ask for freedom of their own will, but are induced to do so by their owners, who, being in want of money, desire to get the compensation which is paid on account of the slave being freed. These are generally slaves who are living in town and doing town work.

There is no part of the Island of Zanzibar where it is not known to owners, free people and slaves alike, that freedom will be given to all slaves applying for it, and it is entirely for the slaves themselves to decide whether they will remain with their owners as slaves or be freed and settle where they please.

It will be seen by the subjoined Appendix that a fair proportion of slaves has been freed by the owners during the past year. The number falls somewhat short of what they were in the previous years, but this was to be expected, seeing that the estate holders must be anxious to keep as much labour as possible on the plantations,

and besides, the smallness of the late clove crop in many parts of the island and other matters tending to diminish the owner's income would all tend to make him less willing to part with any of his property freely. Taking these matters into consideration, the owners have done well in being able to keep as near to the averages of the former years as they have done.

It is more than likely that the action of the owners towards the slaves has had a considerable influence in regulating the number of them applying for freedom. The owners recognize more and more daily that it is to their present advantage to keep their slaves on their estates, and that in order to do this it behoves them to have regard to the natural rights and wants of the slaves as workers, as well as to their own as owners, before the workers will be willing to do and act for their owners as in the past.

But in many cases, the slaves are as anxious to remain on their owners' estates as their owners are to keep them. They know that they have no other home to go to, and that the probabilities of amending their present state by leaving their owners and their homes would be very small. With this they also know the value of their present status: that it is not what it was a few years ago, and so, without wishing to leave their present homes and occupations, are naturally desirous of improving their condition by making more advantageous arrangements with their masters. They know they can have freedom by simply applying for it, but they prefer to remain with their owners and in their old environment, only asking that the conditions of their relationship with their masters may be somewhat modified. Cases of this kind are frequently brought before the Walies of the various provinces of Zanzibar by owners and slaves, in which they request the Wali's services to arrange and place on an equitable basis their mutual obligations, in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

It will be seen from the above remarks, that there are many causes which work together to hinder anything like a rush of slaves to obtain freedom, among the chief of which is their want of inclination to disassociate themselves from their owners, their old homes, and surroundings.

At the same time, the number of slaves in Zanzibar is decreasing fairly rapidly. The work of freeing slaves has been steadily carried on during the past year, freedom being refused to none who applied for it. Besides, there are several other causes which work together to reduce the percentage of slaves in the population of Zanzibar. One important item is shown in the number of slaves who are freed by the owners themselves, as a work worthy of future merit. This, as noted above, is scarcely as large as have been freed in the preceding years, but the reason is easily accounted for. Again, there is now no importation of slaves into Zanzibar, and as all the children of slaves born here are born free, there can be no fresh or new slaves in the place.

In connection with this, we must take into consideration the death-rate amongst the slaves, which must be rated as fairly high, and which must have a corresponding effect in decreasing the number of slaves here. Nor must we forget the number of slaves who desert from their owners here, and go over to the mainland, or elsewhere, and are there, practically, as free persons, or the people who go up in caravans from this place into the interior of Africa or to other parts, many of whom never return, some ending their days there, others preferring a roving life as traders or to settle down in some inland village.

If these many items, viz., the freeing of slaves by the Zanzibar Government, those freed by their owners, the desertion of slaves to the mainland, the death or otherwise settling down of other slaves in various parts of Africa, taken together with the mortality of the slaves here, and the fact that all children born of slave parents are born free and no new slaves are imported, it must be seen that all these work together to rapidly decrease the percentage of the slave population in the Island of Zanzibar, and the probabilities are that after a very few years the name of slave will scarcely be known in Zanzibar.

The total number of slaves freed in the Commissioner's Court during the year ending the 31st December, 1901, was 589; of these, 272 were males and 317 females, as will be seen in the Appendices attached to this Report. As in former years, the slaves came up in greater numbers for freedom during the first half of the year. Later on, when there was plenty of food and life generally more easy, they preferred to accept things as they were, and to let the idea of applying for freedom stand over for a while.

During this last year the percentage of the "Wazalia," or Zanzibar-born slaves has been greater than in previous years; of the 589 slaves freed, 233 (109 males

and 124 females), or 39·5 per cent., were born in Zanzibar. The remainder, 356 (211 males and 145 females), or 60·5 per cent., were born in various parts of the African mainland.

The slaves freed during the past year in the Commissioner's Court in Zanzibar were derived from thirty-two African tribes. Of these, as it was in the previous years, the following six tribes, viz., Zaramu, Hyao, Nyasa, Gindo, Nynema, and Nyamwezi, supplied considerably more than half of the slaves freed.

The actual number of slaves freed from the above-mentioned six tribes were 384, or 65·2 per cent. of the whole number of slaves freed in the Court. From this we see that the greater part of the slaves brought to Zanzibar from the mainland are from the Central Lake regions, the slaves taken from the tribes living nearer the coast being in much smaller numbers.

As in the previous years, so during the last twelve months the freed slaves have shown a preference for living in the town rather than in the country. Of the 589 slaves freed, 218 males and 139 females, in all 357, or 60·7 per cent., elected to live in town. The remaining 232 (109 males and 123 females), or 39·3 per cent. of the whole, preferred to take up their abode in the country. It is generally the aged and somewhat infirm slaves who, having lived all their time in the country, prefer to return to a country life rather than to make a fresh start in life in town, under very different circumstances to which they have been accustomed. It is most likely that many of them return to their former masters and settle down in their old homes on much the same conditions as when they formerly lived there, with this difference, that now being free, they were independent, and in a position to make agreements with the landowners where they settled, which might work out to the general advantage of all concerned.

By far the greater number of those who elected to live in town, both male and female, engage themselves as daily labourers, or "Vibarua," as they are generally called. These are employed in loading and unloading ships, carrying loads to various parts of the town and country, drawing trollies, assistants to masons and other artisans, and in any other kind of unskilled labour which happens their way. During the year a few artisans, masons, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, and others, such as petty traders, have been freed. These always take up their abode in town, and so long as they are willing to work they can do very well.

A considerable number of freed slaves, male as well as female, are employed as house servants by the European and other foreign residents in the town; others are engaged as water-bearers, grass-cutters, and petty dealers. Fortunately, there is work for all who are willing to work; none need be out of employment in either town or country.

The future state of the freed slave depends very much on his own efforts and actions, whether he will be fairly prosperous and comfortable or in poverty and wretchedness. The latter state the freed slave can acquire without any effort on his part, but for him to attain to any degree of honest ease and comparative comfort, means work to him, and generally, whether he be still a slave or free, he likes as little as possible of anything which has the name of work, though he does not object to exerting himself to the utmost in any matter which takes his fancy.

From general observation, it does not seem that the working of the Decree has had any marked effect on the state of the labour market in Zanzibar town. It is in the country where the result is seen. Before the time of the enacting of the Decree for the abolition of the status of slavery, the plantations were then short of hands, and could not be properly worked. Since then the gradual drawing of the slaves from the plantations must necessarily tend to diminish the produce and also the value of the estates.

By the above remarks we may note that the working of the edicts of the Decree for the abolition of the status of slavery has had a steady effect on the Island of Zanzibar. First, in reducing the percentage of the slave population, and then, through affecting the plantation labour market, reducing the produce and value of the country estates. A study of the effect of the working of the Decree upon the slave population during the past few years will enable us to form an approximate idea of the time when the term "slave" can be no longer applied to any of the inhabitants of the Island of Zanzibar.

Attached to this Report will be found a monthly and quarterly statement of the number of slaves freed, also similar statements of the amount of compensation paid. (See Appendix I.)

Appendix II gives a list, male and female, from the six principal tribes

which have supplied slaves, together with the place of residence each one has elected to take.

Appendix III gives a list of the tribes and the numbers, male and female, freed from each tribe; also denoting those who have elected to live in town and those who prefer to go to the country.

Appendix IV gives the number of the slaves freed during the past year, of those who were born on the mainland of Africa, and those who were born in Zanzibar, or "Wazalia." It also gives the number of freed slaves who have chosen to earn their living by agriculture and those who engage themselves in other occupations.

Appendix V gives the numbers of the slaves freed by their owners in Zanzibar Island during the five years ending the 31st December, 1901.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. T. LAST,

His Highness' Commissioner of Slavery for Zanzibar.

Appendix I.

SLAVES Freed and Compensation Paid.

During the Month of—	Numbers Freed.		Amount of Compensation Paid.
	Males.	Females.	
			Rupees.
January 1901	18	7	1,220
February ,, ...	32	40	3,115
March ,, ...	37	33	3,005
Total	87	80	7,340
April 1901	5	13	765
May ,, ...	8	19	1,140
June ,, ...	56	49	4,420
Total	69	81	6,325
July 1901	...	...	...
August ,, ...	27	32	2,325
September ,, ...	7	20	1,150
Total	34	52	3,475
October 1901	5	20	995
November ,, ...	8	10	510
December ,, ...	30	24	1,565
Total	43	54	3,070
Males and females freed	233	267	
Total	500		20,210

Besides the above there were eighty-nine other slaves freed—thirty-nine males and fifty females—for whom the payment of compensation is still pending.

	Males.	Females.	
Slaves freed	233	267	Cases finished.
Ditto	39	50	Compensation pending.
Totals in males and females ...	272	317	
Total	589		

Appendix II.

SHOWING the Tribes which provide the greater Number of Slaves for Zanzibar, and the preference shown by them for a town or country life after obtaining freedom.

Tribes.	Living in Town.		Total.	Living in Country.		Total.	Total from each Tribe.
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.		
Zaramu	25	12	37	6	16	22	59
Hyao	17	19	36	9	13	22	58
Nyasa...	20	19	39	24	12	36	75
Gindo...	10	22	32	14	5	19	51
Nynema	16	13	29	12	21	33	62
Nyamwezi	5	19	24	11	13	24	48
	93	104		76	80		
Total	197			156			353

The above six tribes provided 59·8 per cent. (353) of the total number of slaves freed (589) in the Commissioner's Court during the twelve months ending the 31st December, 1901.

Of these 353 slaves, after being freed, 55·8 per cent. (197) elected to live in town, and 44·2 per cent. (156) in the country.

Appendix III.

SLAVES Freed, Tribes, and present Residence.

Tribes.	Living in Town.		Total in Town.	Living in Country.		Total in Country.	Total from each Tribe.
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.		
Zaramu	25	12	37	6	16	22	59
Hyao	17	19	36	9	13	22	58
Gindo	10	22	32	14	5	19	51
Sagala	1	8	9	4	5	9	18
Nindi	5	2	7	4	6	10	17
Nyasa	20	19	39	24	12	36	75
Dengereco...	3	1	4	...	2	2	6
Ziguha	1	2	3	1	9	10	13
Anguru	3	...	3	...	2	2	5
Bisa	1	2	3	...	5	5	8
Nynema	16	13	29	12	21	33	62
Wera	3	3	6	...	3	3	9
Konde	2	...	2	1	5	6	8
Kami	5	14	19	...	8	8	27
Ruguru	3	...	3	...	1	1	4
Hehe	3	...	3	...	2	2	5
Bembi	4	4	8	9	2	11	19
Nyamwezi	5	19	24	11	13	24	48
Kua	3	1	4	5	3	8	12
Nyagatwa	3	...	3	...	...	...	3
Zuru	3	...	3	2	...	2	5
Ganda	...	4	4	1	2	3	7
Pangwa	3	8	11	2	4	6	17
Nyaturu	2	4	6	3	5	8	14
Kuou	4	2	6	4	...	4	10
Bangobango	...	2	2	2	3	5	7
Masai	...	2	2	2	...	2	4
Atumbi	2	1	3	...	2	2	5
Gangi	...	...	...	...	2	2	2
Khutu	3	1	4	...	...	...	4
Shambala	3	...	3	3	...	3	6
Baluchi	...	1	1	...	...	...	1
	153	166		119	151		
Total males and females...	319			270			589

Of the 589 slaves freed 54·2 per cent. (319) remained in town and 45·8 per cent. (270) went to live in the country. It will be seen that this year a greater percentage of slaves elected to live in the country after being freed than those who chose to do so the previous year.

Of 272 males 56·2 per cent. remained in town and 43·8 per cent. went to the country. Of the 317 females 52·3 per cent. chose to live in town and 47·7 per cent. preferred to live in the country. Of the 589 slaves freed 272 (or 46·2 per cent.) were males, and 317 (or 53·8 per cent.) females.

It will be seen that the percentage of female slaves applying for freedom this year was greater than during the previous year, when they were below 50 per cent.

Appendix IV.

ORIGIN (birth place) of Slaves Freed and their Occupations.

	Males.	Females.
Slaves born on the mainland	163	145
Total	308	
"Wazalia," or Zanzibar-born slaves	109	172
Total	281	
"Wakulima," or plantation workers	109	151
Total	260	
Following other occupations	163	166
Total	329	

Of the 589 slaves freed during the year 1901 308, or 52·3 per cent., were born on the mainland of Africa and 47·7 per cent. (281) were born on the Island of Zanzibar.

Of these same 589 freed slaves 44·2 per cent., or 260, are plantation workers, and 329, or 55·8 per cent., are engaged in other occupations.

It will be seen that all the percentages differ considerably from those of the previous year.

Appendix V.

STATEMENT showing the Total Number of Slaves Freed by their Owners in Zanzibar Island from 1st January, 1897, to 31st December, 1901.

During the Month of—	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	Total.
January	43	61	33	65	20	222
February	39	32	50	26	68	215
March...	35	115	33	58	28	271
April	84	69	46	30	28	257
May	52	48	182	75	125	482
June	55	66	61	106	71	359
July	68	84	76	25	59	312
August	72	68	74	66	44	324
September	54	47	61	69	63	294
October	64	43	76	65	52	300
November	171	57	70	107	49	454
December	60	19	36	78	17	210
Total each year	799	709	798	770	624	3,700

(Signed) J. T. LAST,
His Highness' Commissioner for Zanzibar.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Slavery Report for 1901 *by Mr. Farler.*

Pemba.

THE past year has been a peculiar one, owing to the excessive rainfall. The lesser rains commenced in November 1900 at the usual time, but did not cease in December as they usually do, and we had a steady downpour of water through the three dry months of January, February, and March. The Masika, or rainy season, in April and May was heavier than usual and did not cease at the end of May, but continued until the end of July.

The result of this ever-bountiful rainfall was that the agricultural population obtained marvellous crops of all kinds of vegetables, fruits, and grain. Muhogo (cassava) beans, lentils, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, Kaffir corn (Sorghum), bananas, plantains, mangoes, rice, maize, and fruit of all kinds were being continually gathered.

Never was such plenty known; the land was full of grace (Neema), the people said. This plenty produced contentment, and also gave so much profitable labour to the slaves that applications for freedom practically ceased during a great part of the year. This, I think, shows how greatly economic causes influence the slaves in their applications for freedom.

'It was not until November, after the clove harvest, that slaves began again to apply to the Court for the registration of their freedom. This is the reason why such a comparatively small number have registered their freedom this past year.

Another result of the continual rain for ten months was its peculiar effect upon the clove crop. In the northern part of the island and on the west coast, which were most expost to the influence of the abnormal rains of the dry season, the clove plantations had very poor crops, or none at all; while the more sheltered and inland plantations in the southern part of the island had exceedingly heavy crops. My own opinion is, from personal observation, that where the plantations were exposed to the full force of the rains at the time of bud-forming in January and February, such a strong growth of wood and leaves took place that the young buds were forced off, and therefore very few or no cloves were formed.

In normal seasons the buds continue to form during the three dry months of January, February, and March, subject to peculiarities of the season, producing relays of cloves as it were, and thus prolonging the harvest over several months, as these various relays come to maturity; but this year only the cloves which were fully formed in the comparatively dry time at the end of December and the beginning of January matured.

I think that a strong proof of the correctness of this theory of mine is that this year the clove-picking commenced in July instead of September, and that it all matured together, and had to be picked at the same time, the harvest lasting but six weeks, instead of three months, as usual.

I have also to announce the inauguration of the labour bureau in Pemba during the past year and the very satisfactory results of its work.

As the labour question had become acute, I went to Zanzibar early in July last, at the invitation of the late Sir Lloyd Mathews, to consult with him and my colleagues in Zanzibar, Mr. Last and Mr. Lyne, about the opening of labour bureaus in Zanzibar and Pemba. The result was that labour bureaus were started both in Pemba and Zanzibar, under the two Commissioners, and a branch office was opened at Dunga plantation under Mr. Lyne. The object to be obtained was to organize and utilize all available labour, and employ it where it was most needed, also to facilitate arrangements between plantation owners and labourers.

On my departure from Zanzibar, His Highness the Sultan gave me letters to the Chiefs of the Wapemba, ordering them to give me every assistance in their power and to make all their young men who were not otherwise engaged go into the plantations and pick cloves at the market rate of pay.

I returned to Pemba in the middle of July and Sir Lloyd Mathews accompanied me. He explained to the two Arab Walis the meaning and value of the labour bureau, and asked them for their cordial co-operation in working it. This they willingly agreed to do.

I then called a meeting, of all the Shaha of the Wapemba from the southern district of the island, at Chak-Chak, and formally started the bureau by reading to them the Sultan's letter and inviting their help.

They expressed their loyalty to the Sultan and their willingness to do all they could, but stipulated that any Mpemba who owned a clove plantation should be allowed, with his people, to pick his own cloves first, before picking for their neighbours. I replied that that went without saying; of course every one could pick his own cloves first; the Government desired that the labour bureau should be a gain to all and a loss to none.

I then entered the name of each Shaha into the bureau register and the number of pickers each was able to supply, noting the names of those who had clove shambas of their own, the number of clove trees in them, and the time and number of their people they would require to pick them.

The overseers of the Government shambas and labour depôts were directed to keep their people ready to go wherever they were sent by the bureau, and owners of shambas and mission stations who had received large numbers of freed slaves from the Government were told to give up unnecessary work, utilize all their people to pick cloves, and as soon as they had gathered their own crops, send their freed slaves to help their neighbours.

The police were ordered to search for, and collect, all vagrants and masterless men, and they were at once sent off to pick cloves. By these various means we soon had a large body of labour available.

Notice was now sent out to the shamba owners, informing them that any one needing labour for picking cloves must apply to the bureau.

The same process was gone through at Weti, for the northern district of the island.

The shamba owners at once responded, and flocked to the bureau asking for labour.

The terms were then announced to them, which were—

1. That they must pay the labourers 4 pice a pishi measure of picked cloves.

2. That the measure used must be stamped Government brass pishi, not their old wooden ones, measuring from a pishi and a-half to two pishi.

3. That every evening as soon as the pickers had stemmed their cloves they were to be at once measured, and the price forthwith paid into their hands.

Objections were raised; some thought 2 pice a pishi the proper price, and that 4 pice a pishi was excessive. Others insisted on using their old wooden measures. Upon these objections not being listened to they went off, saying they would arrange their own terms with the labourers, but only to return again in a few days, ready to agree to any terms the Government offered.

The great bulk of the shamba owners at once, however, made their applications.

After stating what labour they already had, either in slaves or freed slaves, and the amount of extra labour they needed, they were allotted labourers in proportion to the number of clove trees they had upon their shambas, allowing for the labour they already had. Then letters were given them to the nearest Shaha of Wapemba, and he was told to send so many pickers, and the transaction was entered into the bureau register.

In a short time the bureau had distributed in the southern district a little over 5,000 clove pickers, and after that another 3,000 for the northern district.

The whole thing from the first worked smoothly, though it was very hard work while the pressure lasted. Now and then a shamba owner came to complain that his Shaha was not sending the number of people he had promised to; but these matters were corrected without difficulty. Sometimes it was found that the shamba owner had tried some piece of sharp practice with the pickers, which they had resented by staying away.

Again, a Shaha would come and complain that some of his young men were lazy, and would not work or obey his orders.

Their names were at once taken down, and the police sent to call them before the bureau, where, after a good talking to, they generally agreed to work without further trouble.

Then, again, besides these, over 500 Wa-tumbatu, the aborigines from the north end of Zanzibar Island, came across to Pemba in dhows on their own account for the clove-picking, and made their own arrangements with the shamba owners. I hope this movement will increase, and extend to the mainland opposite Pemba. It

is an excellent sign of confidence in the fairness and justice of the Administration, and shows a knowledge that the days of slave labour are over.

So this year, thanks to the Wapemba, the freed slaves, and the Wa-tumbatu, the cloves have been well gathered, and very little has been lost. Though the crops have been partial, and many shambas had no cloves at all, yet I believe the Customs collector in Zanzibar reports returns above the average.

If we have a general good crop, the present available labour will not be sufficient, no matter how it is organized, and there must be a great loss from cloves spoiled through not being picked in time.

To remedy this, I propose that the Zanzibar Government should make an arrangement with the British Agent, and obtain permission for me to go across to the mainland opposite Pemba in Zanzibar territory, and landing at Wanga, Wasoon, and Gazi, interview the Majumbe of the coast tribes, the Wadigo, the Wamjika, and the Wasegeju, and arrange with them for a supply of labour for the Pemba clove harvest. At that time they have gathered their own harvest of maize and mtama, and have little else to do but quarrel and get drunk, so it would be good for them, and I have no doubt they would be glad to cross over to Pemba, which is only 25 miles distant, and earn good wages for clove-picking. A Government steamer should be sent to fetch them as soon as the cloves are ready; they could be landed at the old barracks at Tundava, which has plenty of accommodation for them, and from thence they could be distributed as they were wanted. At the end of the harvest I could take them back in the same steamer, and see them safely on their way home.

This done under Government supervision would work without difficulty, and would be a great boon both to the planters of Pemba and the coast tribes of the mainland.

It is very fortunate that the Wapemba are taking to the clove-picking; until quite recently they kept very much to themselves and were morbidly afraid of doing anything which they called slave labour.

They are the descendants of the slaves of the Shirazi from the Persian Gulf, who held Pemba before the Portuguese, and were driven out by them. After the retreat of these Shirazi Persians, their slaves ran away to the eastern and less fertile districts of Pemba, and were left very much to themselves by the Portuguese, who occupied only the Western fertile belt of the island. In their turn the Portuguese were driven out by an Arab tribe from Oman called Ya Arabi or El Orabi. These found that the old slaves of the Shiraz had in the meanwhile adopted Islam, and built themselves mosques. As they were forbidden by the Shiria-ul-Islam to make slaves of "the faithful," they had to leave them in freedom. They called themselves Wa-Pemba, *i.e*, people of Pemba, and from them we have a free peasantry of about 30,000 souls, perhaps more.

A good many of them, even to this day, if you ask them what their tribe is, answer "Shirazi." They have many habits and customs quite different from the Arabs and Wa-Swahili. They compute their time according to the Persian solar system, and not according to the Arab lunar system. Thus their year is astronomically fairly correct, while the Arabs lose six days every year.

Their New Year's Day always falls on about the 22nd August, and they call it "Nairoz"—the same word as the Persian.

On New Year's Day they assemble on the shore and bathe in the sea at sunrise, to be followed with great feasting and rejoicing and much dancing and drumming. In their Islam they follow the Shiah and Shaffi sects, and not the Ibathi sect of the Arabs, or the Sunni sect of the Wa-Swahili. The word for their Chiefs is "Shaha," the Persian word for Chief or King. Their language is also different from the Kiswahili, and just as that is an Arabic superstructure upon a Bantu foundation.

The Island of Pemba seems to have flourished under the rule of the Persians in a way that it has never done since, and their being driven out was a distinct loss to civilization. In visiting outlying portions of the island, I have come across the remains of several good-sized towns, of well-built stone houses and mosques, now in the midst of forest growth. Also deep square wells, lined with stone masonry, still intact, but where no one lives now.

All these are Persian remains.

One of the most pleasing results of the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Pemba is the increasing tendency of the best of the freed slaves to save their harvest money, and add to it by selling the produce of their free allotments, until they have saved up enough money to buy a small shamba of their own. During the past year I

have had the gratification of witnessing many deeds of sale, in which a slave freed by me, perhaps a year or two ago, has now become a landed proprietor.

But even in this, the Government has to protect the freed slave from his own ignorance and simplicity by satisfying ourselves that it is a *bonâ fide* transaction to maintain a man and his family. Some time ago a man came to me with a deed of a small shamba, for which he said he had paid 8 rupees (or 10*s.* 8*d.*) to an Indian. It struck me that this must be a mighty small landed estate; but upon inquiry I found that an Indian had lent him only 4 rupees to buy this shamba, which was a tiny plot of ground at the back of the Indian's shop, and that he was to pledge it at once to the Indian for 8 rupees, and pay interest on this loan at the rate of 260 per cent. per annum. In the meanwhile, he was to work for the Indian for a wage of 2 rupees a-month and his food, *i.e.*, 2*s.* 8*d.* a-month in cash; and out of this he was to pay off principle and compound interest. Of course, it never would have been paid off at all. Then things would have been sold on credit, until the poor wretch would have been hopelessly involved. Thus, at an expenditure of 4 rupees, *i.e.*, 5*s.* 4*d.*, this Indian would have obtained a thrall, who, to all intents and purposes, would have been his slave. I need hardly say I tore up the deed.

Since then it has become evident to me that a number of freed slaves have borrowed money from Indians at an exorbitant rate of compound interest to buy shambas with, which they had agreed to pledge to the Indian as security as soon as the purchase was complete—thus merely changing the easy slavery of the Arab for the much more exacting slavery of the Indian.

I now always make a man coming with borrowed money to buy a shamba return it to the Indian; and I tell him, when he has saved up money of his own to buy enough land for himself and family, to come again.

I am glad to say that vagrancy has considerably decreased during the past year.

This is principally owing to our having had Government contract forms printed, and when a freed slave makes an agreement with a shamba owner, that agreement is now registered at the office of the Government, and a contract note has to be signed by the parties.

This seems to have had a very good effect, for while an African does not consider himself in anything bound by a mere verbal agreement, he really does, in a vague sort of way, feel that, having put his mark to a written agreement, he ought in some way to stick to it. Not that even this has much binding force upon him without the law to back it.

As a rule, the free slaves are abominably lazy; they think that to have to work for more than six hours a week for rent "an oppression."

There is, however, another matter about which it is impossible to speak without disgust—about which there is nothing hopeful—and that is the open and shameless immorality of the freed slaves.

Since the restraints imposed by their Arab masters have been removed, Pemba has become one huge brothel, the women being worse than the men. Virtue is absolutely unknown, and the people have become not simply immoral, but unmoral, the sense of morality being completely lost.

They seem to have but half-human souls, and with the subtlety of savages, the passions and physical strength of adults, they have only the intelligence of the child to restrain them. Very few men dare leave their homes for twenty-four hours without hearing on their return that their wives have been entertaining male friends during their absence; but as the men are as bad as their wives in this respect, it is impossible to feel much sympathy for them.

Little children even are well versed in the ways of vice, at an age when they would barely be out of the nursery at home.

The police are frequently suppressing brothels and punishing the keepers of them; these were unknown before the emancipation of the slaves, but as nearly every native hut can be used, with the permission of the owner, as a place of assignation, the suppression of brothels is not of much use.

This could have been prevented in some measure, and at first we were fairly successful in checking it by insisting upon freed slaves, especially young girls, having a new home ready to go to before they finally abandoned the old one.

Three years ago, finding that the large number of slaves then coming for freedom often left the Court after being registered without knowing where they were going to live, we put in force Article 4 of the Decree, interpreting it to mean that a slave applying to the Court for freedom, his right having been recog-

nized and his identity established before being registered, he must come to terms with some employer of labour, and if he could not, the Slavery Court would do it for him.

By this means we arranged that all young girls and unmarried women applying for freedom should go straight from the Slavery Court to a proper home.

Unfortunately, the Friends' Mission construed this into an attempt on the part of the officials to hinder the emancipation of the slaves, and an application was made to the Foreign Office to disallow our interpretation of the Article 4, and they succeeded.

We had therefore to let all these young girls, with others, loose into their new world as soon as they were freed, without any home ties or any restraints such as they had been accustomed to in their Arab homes.

The result was what might have been expected—these girls became prostitutes, some, indeed, forming irregular connections with men and living fairly respectable lives; but the greater number of them are living loose, immoral lives on the streets.

It was a disastrous intervention on the part of the missionaries, and it would seem to show that there are people who think that technical freedom is of more value than morality in the evolution of the African race.

I would even now beg the home authorities to reconsider their late decision, and, if possible, give us a free hand in this matter. This is a sample of the conversation which from time to time goes on in the Slavery Court when a young girl has been freed :—

Q. Do you want me to find a home for you?—*A.* No; I can manage for myself.

Q. But where are you going to live?—*A.* Oh, with a friend of mine.

Q. What work are you going to do?—*A.* I shall cook for him.

Q. Then it is a male friend?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Had you not better let us find a respectable home for you?—*A.* I am quite satisfied with this.

The equal distribution of labour is another of our growing difficulties. British Indian traders and missionary societies hold out inducements to the freed slaves beyond the power of any shamba owner who has no other source of income than his agricultural produce. The result is that many plantations have gone out of cultivation and others are going. It is a common thing to see weeds 6 feet high in Arab shambas around the clove trees.

Seeing how greatly this evil was increasing, I have been obliged to refuse to send to certain plantations more freed slaves than sufficient to keep them in good cultivation, and we do all we can to persuade the slave on being freed to go to those shambas most needing labour.

If he mentions a favourite plantation which already has its full compliment of freed slaves, I tell him that it has already as many people as it needs, and ask him to choose some other place. I always find the freed slave quite ready to go to another shamba; he is not particular, as long as the Government will guarantee fair treatment for him. Usually he himself at once names another shamba.

There is a good deal of strong feeling about the way in which the Government has allowed the slaves, on being freed, to settle on the shambas of foreigners. The Arabs say it is we who are paying for the emancipation of the slaves out of our taxes. It is our country, where we have to make our living for our wives and children, or else we must starve; why should these outsiders and foreigners, these Indian usurers and Missions, take our labour merely that they may make money? it is unfair, it is unjust!

A short time ago, when freeing a number of slaves, as each freed slave gave the name of a mission station where he wished to live, the Arabs and Swahili present in the Court got very restless, and when the eighteenth freed slave said he had promised the missionary to go to him, the whole of the planters in the Court rose up together and made a loud protest, asking if the Sirkar was determined on their ruin just to oblige these foreigners.

One Mission trades in cloves, buying from the growers here, and selling in London, and it is strongly felt by the Arabs, Sherifu and Swahili, to be manifestly unfair for the Government to go on giving these people labour, merely that they may compete in trade with the native shamba owners.

I try to deal with all these conflicting interests fairly and evenly, but reconciling

them is no easy matter; each party thinks I have not done as much for him as I ought to have done.

There is another misconception I should like to set right, that is, about the feeling of degradation at being a slave. There is no doubt but that the institution of slavery in any country does degrade, not only the slaves, but also the slave owners. But the slaves themselves do not feel any degradation in being called a slave. The word "slave" has a very different meaning in Swahili from what it has in English, and there is no stigma attached to it.

The Swahili word "mtumwa" (slave) is derived from the verb "kutuma," to send. The title of "Mohamed the Apostle of God" is "Mtume" (*i.e.*, the one sent). It has exactly the same meaning as our word Apostle; while "mtumwa" (slave) is merely one who can be sent. So you see what an honourable connection the word has. The greatest Arabs, in writing to the Sultan, always sign themselves "Your slave," so and so. In many parts of the country, especially the mainland coast tribes, the word "Mtume" is frequently used for the Supreme Being.

The household slaves in large families are most scornful towards slaves freed by the Government; will hold no intercourse with them, and call them "Mateka," or, the spoils of the enemy: and this is a deadly insult. As mission boys walk about, they are frequently called after, "Mateka!"

I notice that British Indians are now continually foreclosing mortgages on shambas, and working them themselves now that they can get freed-slave labour. The Arabs are helpless in their hands, and pay them from 75 per cent. to 150 per cent. compound interest on loans on mortgages. When they want to borrow money they are so eager to get it that they are most careless about the terms of the loan, and agree to anything the lender may choose to exact. They are such optimists and fatalists that they always believe it will come right somehow, though they never make any effort to put it right.

I wish it could be made penal for a British subject to exact more than 20 per cent. simple interest on mortgages, or to add year by year the interest to the original loan as they do now.

The hospital and dispensary have done good work, and a large number of patients have been treated, though we still lack a properly qualified medical man.

The refuge, owing to the general prosperity among the freed slaves, has not been used, and it is now closed.

The reorganized Courts of law have obtained a good reputation among the people for justice and expedition, both of which they formerly lacked, and it is now impossible to keep a person lying in prison for months under an accusation waiting trial.

If within twenty-four hours after a person has been arrested his accuser does not come forward to bring his charge, he is brought before a Magistrate and discharged.

The prisons are in thorough order, the cells sweet and clean, and well ventilated, and the feeding arrangements are good.

The great difficulty now is that the prison is so comfortable that offenders do not at all mind going there. Women especially, who are often the most hardened offenders knowing that they cannot now be whipped or put in irons, simply laugh when they get fourteen days or a month, and openly say they are quite pleased to go to prison.

As their physical strength is quite equal to a man's, they do not mind the light labour they get inside the prison. The only thing I can think of is to build small stone cells, and give them solitary confinement where they cannot talk. That, I think, would be a terrible punishment to them, and I believe it would be effectual.

In conclusion, I should like to say a word about the good feeling which exists between the officials and the people of the country. It was particularly striking at the Memorial Service held in Pemba at the death of Sir Lloyd Mathews, where English and Arab, Indian and Swahili, slave and freed slave, all stood together and joined in Christian and Mahommedan prayer; even rigid Mahommedans saying fervent "Amens" at the end of Christian prayers.

SLAVES Freed by the Commissioner in 1901.

Quarter ended—	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
March	33	43	4	80
June	21	36	6	63
September	5	6	..	11
December	33	63	5	101
Total	92	148	15	255

Convicted of vagrancy in Pemba in 1901—

1st quarter	154
2nd „	145
3rd „	87
4th „	65
Total	451

Thieves convicted in Pemba, 1901	441
Convicted of violent assaults in Pemba, 1901, including drunkenness	276
Convicted of adultery in Pemba, 1901	166
Convicted of simple drunkenness in Pemba, 1901	16
Convicted of burglary in Pemba in 1901	26

Compensation for freed slaves paid in 1901, 8,180 rupees; leaving about 30,000 rupees still owing.

(Signed) J. P. FARLER,
His Highness' Commissioner for Pemba.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

Mr. Cave to Mr. Rogers.

Sir, *Zanzibar, February* 17, 1902.

IN a recent number of an English magazine I noticed a letter signed by Mr. Herbert Armitage, of the Friends' Industrial Mission at Pemba, in which it was stated, as an instance of the obstacles which were thrown in the way of emancipation by the Sultan's authorities in that island, that a native named Ufunguo, after being freed by the Court, was sent to work on one of the Government plantations in spite of his request that he might be allowed to return to the Mission where he had already been employed.

On seeing this letter I wrote privately to Mr. Farler, asking him whether the facts were correctly stated. I have now received his reply, from which I quote the following extract:—

"The Friends' Mission have received a far larger number of freed slaves than any shamba in Pemba, excepting labour depôts, and three years ago Mr. Burtt, the head of the Mission, wrote to me that they were about full up.

"Some weeks ago a deputation of Arabs came to see me, and they said that their shambas were going out of cultivation, and they were being ruined, and they protested against the number of freed slaves that have been registered to live at various Mission stations, and especially to the Friends' Mission, which had become a Trading Mission, dealing in cloves beyond their own crop. I also had a scene in Court, when a lot of Arabs arose and loudly protested against the large number of freed slaves going to Mission stations.

"I felt that their contention was just, and I spoke to Sir John Key, the head of the Universities' Mission in Pemba, and to Mr. Burtt, the head of the Friends' Mission, and I told them that I should not supply them with any more freed slaves for the present without trying to persuade them to go to other shambas. They both agreed to this as reasonable.

"When Mr. Armitage asked for this man Ufunguo he was working in a house of theirs as a day labourer. After he had been freed, I asked him where he wished to live, and he replied, 'Banani'—the Friends' shamba. I told him that it was full

up, but he could choose any other place. He at once said, 'I should like to go to Kilulu'—a Government shamba, where I have a bungalow—and, as this is a labour depôt, I gave him leave. On my asking him why he wanted to go to Banani, he replied, 'I know a man there, and the European asked me to go there.'

"If Mr. Armitage wants labourers, he can draw them from the superfluous labour at Banani. It is not true that the man 'suffered a loss of his liberty'; he had the whole of Pemba to go to except this Friends' Mission shamba, which is over-full of people. In fact, during the past year I have had a large number of the freed slaves who had gone to live at the Friends' Mission apply to me for permission to leave it, on the plea that it was so crowded that they could not get enough land of their own to cultivate—only small plots—and therefore they had to work every day for the missionaries, so as to get a few pice to live, and they told me that women got 2*d.* a-day and men 2½*d.*, that is, 8 pice and 10 pice, and they felt more like slaves, for they had no leisure or time of their own, and they were not allowed to work on Sundays, so they had then no pice. Most of them I persuaded to go back, but some utterly refused, so I sent them to other homes. . . . . ."

"This man Ufunguo has now a large plantation at Kilulu, is very happy, and nothing would induce him now to leave Kilulu and go to Banani; therefore Mr. Armitage's statement that this man by being freed 'suffers a loss of liberty' is not accurate. If he wants to go to any other place where labour is needed, he can go to-morrow; and the statement that he is now, 'absolutely against his will,' placed under the contract system is also incorrect, for, when he was refused Banani, he himself, entirely of his own free will and accord, was received at Kilulu, where he is much more free and independent, and far better off, than ever he would have been at Banani."

I have the greatest sympathy with Mr. Farler in the efforts which he is making to arrive at an equitable solution of a difficult problem, and every confidence that those efforts are directed towards the attainment of what is best in the interests of the natives of this country; but at the same time I am unable to regard the above explanation as affording a sufficient justification for the Commissioner's action in refusing to allow a freed slave to himself select the plantation on which he desires to work.

The evident intention of the Decree of 1897 and of the instructions which I received from the Secretary of State and communicated to the late Sir Lloyd Mathews on the 11th November, 1899, is that every slave on receiving his freedom shall be allowed to select for himself the place at which he is to reside and the occupation which he will follow. The Commissioner is entitled, under Article 4 of the Decree, to satisfy himself, after emancipation has been granted, that the freed slave is in a position to support himself in such a way as not to become a vagrant, and it is in the interests of the freed slave that he should do so, and that if such evidence is not forthcoming he should assist in finding employment for him; but he cannot, in my opinion, overrule the selection which the freed slave himself has made unless there are good reasons for doing so.

In the present case the only reason which Mr. Farler gives for refusing to allow Ufunguo to return to the Mission is that there were already as many freed slaves there as could be provided with employment and with ground for their own cultivation, and that landowners in other parts of the island were complaining of the insufficiency of labour. But although, on economic grounds, it is much to be regretted that the distribution of labour is not more equal, I do not think that this is a sufficient reason for interfering with the freedom of selection which is enjoyed by everyone who is not a slave, as long as it is exercised in a legitimate and proper manner. If it is a fact that the Mission has more freed slaves than it can adequately support, the freed slaves themselves will probably be the first to find it out, and when they do they can, by applying to the Commissioner, obtain more remunerative employment elsewhere.

I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to bring the views which I have here expressed, if they coincide with your own, to the knowledge of the Commissioner.

It appears from Mr. Farler's statement that Ufunguo would not now willingly return to Banani, but I think that he should be given another opportunity of stating whether he would still desire to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

No. 2.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir C. Eliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1902.

I HAVE read with interest Mr. Cave's despatch of the 21st February and the Reports therein inclosed on the working during 1901 of the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. In the course of his despatch, Mr. Cave refers to the institution of labour bureaux by Mr. Farler, and points out that Mr. Farler's action may be taken exception to as denying to emancipated slaves the right of freely selecting the district or plantation where they will work as free men.

I agree with Mr. Cave in holding that it is absolutely necessary to avoid any action likely to create the impression that encouragement is given to encroachments upon the individual liberty of emancipated slaves.

Therefore, though it is evident from Mr. Farler's Report that he is deeply convinced of the necessity of some such interference in the interests of all concerned, and that he exercises the utmost care in its application, I approve of the letter which Mr. Cave addressed on the 17th February to the First Minister of the Sultan on this subject, and I should wish you to support the views therein expressed in your communications with Mr. Rogers. Mr. Cave, on his return to Zanzibar, will be able to inspect the districts, and furnish a further Report on the subject, with special reference to the working of the labour bureaux and the practical merits of Mr. Farler's policy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 3.

Society of Friends' Mission in Pemba to Foreign Office.—(Received October 4.)

My Lord, *Duvals, Grays, Essex, October* 2, 1902.

I AM desired by the Committee of the Society of Friends having charge of its Mission in the Island of Pemba to send you the inclosed copy of a letter from Mr. Herbert Armitage, one of their missionaries resident in the island, and to ask your Lordship's kind attention to it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. W. BROOKS, *Hon. Sec.*

Inclosure in No. 3.

Mr. Armitage to Consul Cave.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
Dear Sir, *August* 20, 1902.

A CASE recently came before the Commissioner here, in which a woman slave sought her freedom, but failed to obtain it on the ground that she was said to be a concubine.

It is not intended in the present letter to criticize the finding of the Court, but we, having very strong reasons for believing the statement of the woman that she never was the "suria" of the man who claims her, venture to put the following questions with a view to our being able to advise any others who may be thus called upon to prove that they are not concubines or forfeit their legal liberty.

In the first place, this woman most positively in the Court, and since, refuses to return to her master shamba; she stated in Court that she would rather go to prison. And I would be glad to be informed if the master can legally carry her back by force, or whether she may be allowed to live, unfreed, but unmolested, with her father and mother, as she is doing at present ?*

* I have since learnt that these people are not her real father and mother.

The following questions suggest themselves out of this case, and if not troubling you I would be greatly obliged by your opinion upon them:—

1. In Article 5 of the Decree of the 1st Zilkada, 1314, it states: "Concubines shall be regarded as inmates of the harem in the same sense as wives, and shall remain in their present relations unless they should demand their dissolution on the ground of cruelty." Are we justified in supposing that this applies only to those concubines who were concubines at the date of the Decree, and that those slaves who have been made concubines since that date may claim their freedom, should they wish to do so, precisely the same as any other slave?

2. May a slave-owner at the present time select concubines from among his slaves, and thus place an effectual barrier against their obtaining their freedom?

3. Is there any recognized method of deciding as to whether an alleged concubine is or is not a concubine other than by witnesses? For instance, if an alleged concubine was able to prove that she had been employed in various work, such as water carrying, cooking, hoeing, or picking cloves, would that be accepted as showing that she was not a concubine?

4. Since the Decree of Seyid Ali of 1890, has it been legal to make a gift of a slave either to become a concubine or for any other purpose?

5. In case of a woman slave applying for freedom, and failing to obtain it on the ground that she is a concubine, has she the right of appeal as set forth in Article 6 of Decree of 1st Zilkada, 1314? If that is so, how should she proceed to give effect to such appeal?

6. In the case of a slave defending herself from the charge (?) of being a concubine, or even on other charges where proper calling of witnesses is essential, would it be permissible for any one interesting themselves in the slaves' case to be heard in Court on their behalf, and to render them such assistance as might enable them to stand on equal terms with their masters? This is suggested by the remembrance that, in the case referred to at the commencement of this letter, the woman arrived in Court unattended by a single witness, and much time was lost in endeavouring to hunt them up while the case was proceeding.

I feel that I am trespassing heavily upon your time in propounding these questions, and my apology must be, my desire to be correctly informed as to the real meaning of the various provisions of the Decrees.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT ARMITAGE.

No. 4.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received October 27.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, September 24, 1902.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Lordship the following Report on a visit which I recently made to Pemba Island to inquire into the general working of the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery, and in particular to further investigate certain points in connection therewith to which I referred in my despatch of the 21st February last.

Accompanied by the Regent and First Minister of His Highness the Sultan's Government, I left Zanzibar on the evening of the 6th September and reached the anchorage at Tundaua, some 4 miles from the capital of the sister island, the following morning. Proceeding in a boat to Chaki Chaki, we spent the whole of that day in examining the records of the local Courts, and discussing with Mr. Farler and Mr. Lister several questions which had arisen with respect to emancipation. We also had interviews with the principal Arab officials, and visited one of the establishments of the Friends' Industrial Mission and a plantation owned by the Roman Catholic Mission at Dongoni. The next day was occupied in inspecting some of the more important plantations in the neighbourhood, investigating a case which had been brought to my notice by the Friends' Industrial Mission and discussing with Mr. Armitage, of that Society, various questions connected with the Decree. On the 9th instant we continued our journey by sea to Weti, an important town some 17 miles north of Chaki Chaki, and visited two or three of the larger shambas in its vicinity, as well as a village occupied by the Wa-Pemba, the free original inhabitants of the island. On the following day, whilst the vessel in which we had travelled steamed round to Msuka Bay, at the north end of Pemba. Mr. Farler and I, accompanied for a considerable portion of the way by Mr. Lister, rode to

the same point on donkeys; our road took us through the heart of the clove district, and by calling at the plantations, which in that part of the country are now in full bearing, we were enabled to see the natives actually engaged in picking the cloves, and to ascertain more accurately than we could have done by any other means the numbers and feelings of those who are engaged on the work. On our way back from Msuka we stopped for a few hours at Kishu Kash (or Kishi kashi as it is more commonly called), a place about half-way between Msuka and Weti, and, after picking up mails and passengers at the latter port, spent the night at Chaki Chaki. Leaving the capital early on the morning of the 12th September I landed in Mr. Lister's company at Mkoani near the Island Makongwe, and made a tour through several shambas and native settlements in the south-western districts of Pemba. On the following day the party returned to Zanzibar.

In order to give your Lordship some insight into the conditions of labour prevailing in the Island of Pemba, I have selected from my notes the following particulars of some of the larger plantations. I cannot, however, be certain that the statistics with which I was supplied were always accurate; in the case of shambns owned by Europeans or by Arabs in Government employ the figures are probably correct, but in other instances it was obviously to the interest of those concerned to exaggerate the size of their holdings and minimize the number of the labourers in their service, in order that the Government might be induced to assist them, through the medium of the labour bureaux or by other means, to gather their crops. Estimates of numbers given by the nattves themselves are quite unreliable.

At Mkanjuni, a plantation owned by Suleiman-bin-Mbaruk, the Wali of Chaki Chaki, and consisting of some 10,000 clove trees, there are 200 labourers, 150 of whom are freed slaves; these are not on written contracts, but have all made verbal arrangements with their employer, under which they pick his cloves at the rate of 4 pice a pishi (a measure equal to about 6½ lbs. avoirdupois); at other seasons they are required to work three days in the week for their master, leaving the other four days to be employed either on their own little plots on which they grow mohogo (cassava), rice, Indian corn, beans, bananas, and other native products, for their own consumption or for sale, or in earning monetary wages in the town or on other shambas; for cleaning their master's land they are paid at the rate of 1 rupee for a piece of ground measuring 20 by 8 miale (a "miale" being 7 feet in length), and under this system of piece-work they can earn about 1 rupee in three days: each labourer is given practically as much land as he cares to cultivate, the materials which he requires for building a hut, and the free run of the fruit and cocoanut trees—and of the latter there were a large number—on the estate.

Kauli is a property half-way between Chaki Chaki and Tundaua belonging conjointly to the four sons of Suleiman-bin-Mbaruk. Here on a shamba containing some 3,000 trees there are 150 men employed, 80 of whom are freed slaves; a few of these are on written contracts, the remainder having been freed by their masters and remained with them. Their conditions of service are the same as at Mkanjuni, with the exception that they are paid 3 instead of 4 pice a pishi for picking. The houses erected on this estate are models of good building and tidiness, and I am told that it is a very favourite one with the freed slaves.

On the Friends' Industrial Mission at Banani, opposite Kauli, there are 4,000 clove trees and 230 freed slaves; at ordinary times the men get 10 pice and the women 8 pice a-day (the town rate of wages is 16 pice per diem), and they are expected to work every day in the week, Sunday excepted; 3 pice a pishi is paid for clove picking. Each man is given a certain amount of land, but is required to hand over 20 per cent. of his produce to the Mission.

Sultan Mahomed, one of the Arab Kathis at Weti, has a shamba at Chozini, near the town, containing 4,000 or 5,000 trees, and employs some thirty slaves on it. This labour was supplemented, at the time of my visit, by forty Wa-Pemba who had come in voluntarily from the surrounding districts, and who were engaged in picking the cloves at the current market rate; they worked on the average for three days in the week, about five hours a-day.

The Universities' Mission has a property at Kisimbani, near Weti, on which there are between 3,000 and 4,000 trees. The freed slaves employed there, about 100 in number and all on verbal contracts, earn 4 to 5 pice a pishi for clove picking according to the size and distribution of the crop and the consequent ease or difficulty of the task; at other times they are expected to keep the land clean, which occupies them for about two days in the week, but are otherwise free to work on their own account. Canon Sir John Key, who manages this plantation, informed me that some 15 per cent. of his employés had run away, usually during the first month of their engagement.

At Kizuiani, a few miles north of Weti, there is a plantation of 3,000 clove trees, owned by Mahomed-bin-Nassur, who has fifteen slaves of his own and twenty-five slaves

who have been freed under the Decree. The latter all have written contracts, the provisions of which they thoroughly understand; they are quite content, and hope to renew their agreement at the end of the three years for which they were originally engaged. During the clove harvest they are paid at the rate of 4 pice a pishi, and can pick from 6 to 10 pishi a-day; at other times they work for their employer for three days in the week, from 7 A.M. to 11 or 12 noon, and for the remaining four days can either cultivate the plots with which they are all provided, or earn from 16 to 20 pice per diem elsewhere, at their own option.

Salem-bin-Ahamed-el-Riami has a large and thriving plantation of 10,000 clove trees, planted thirty years ago at Sanaa, further north. He has a dozen slaves of his own, and pays for extra labour as he requires it. At present he has sixty Wa-Pemba picking cloves for him; they come from neighbouring districts, and work for two or three days at a time, returning to their homes each afternoon when they consider that they have done enough; they work on verbal contracts, and are paid in advance at the rate of 20 to 25 pishi for a rupee; each man makes his own agreement, one binding himself to pick his employer's cloves until he has earned 5 rupees at the above rate, another 10 rupees, and so on, and I saw one man who last season had gathered as many as 800 pishi on this shamba.

The neighbouring property at Kinyasini contained the same number of trees as the last, but had only some fifty slaves to pick them, the owner, Saleh-bin-Ali-el-Riami, having been unsuccessful in his endeavours to procure outside labour.

At Matangatuani, still further north, there is a Government plantation which will serve as a fair example of the properties which are in the hands of the Sultan's administration. It consists of 1,700 clove trees, and employs 100 adults, one-half of them being slaves freed at various times by former Sultans, and the remainder having been emancipated under the Decree. During the greater part of the year they work for three days in the week for Government, and have the other four days to themselves, preferring, as a rule, to spend them in the cultivation of their own allotments, which are practically as large as they care to make them. During harvest time they receive 3 pice a pishi. I was fortunate in arriving at this plantation just as the labourers were bringing in the results of their day's picking, and in being able, therefore, to see for myself the amount which they were each capable of earning; the average quantity of cloves gathered measured about 7 or 8 pishi, which would represent a wage of from 20 to 24 pice, but one man, who, as might be expected, was the last to come in, had picked about 20 pishi, and had, therefore, earned nearly a rupee by 2 o'clock in the day.

An Indian, named Hashim Hirji, owns three plantations, containing, he informed me, over 10,000 trees, which are the most northerly in the island. The Wa-Pemba employed in picking his cloves number, according to his own statement, twenty, and, according to theirs, seventy-five; but whichever of these figures is correct, it is evident that either the available labour is insufficient or the supervision defective, for the ground was thickly strewn with branches which had been pulled off the trees, with the object, apparently, of saving time and trouble. Mr. Farler undertook to endeavour to furnish the owner of these properties with some more labourers, either Wa-Pemba or freed slaves.

At Kishu Kash there is a shamba of about 5,000 trees and two or three smaller ones, owned by Mahomed Juma and worked by his slaves, some 150 in number. There are no freed slaves, and Wa-Pemba are difficult to procure.

In the neighbourhood of Mkoani, in the southern portion of the island, there are a large number of smaller plantations, worked on various systems. On one of them, at Jondeni, there are only some twenty persons employed, all the freed slaves of the proprietor, Ali-bin-Isa. At another, close to it, the property of Thinian-bin-Khalif, there are about thirty hands, all Government-freed slaves; they work on verbal contracts, three days for their master and four for themselves, and are paid 3 pice a pishi in harvest-time; on their free days they cultivate their own plots of mohogo and rice, or seek monetary wages elsewhere.

At most of the shambas to which I have referred, as well as at many less important ones which I inspected, my visit was quite unexpected, and in a considerable number of cases the owners were not even present. I found the natives actually employed in picking the cloves, and questioned them myself. The observations, therefore, which I shall now have the honour to submit to your Lordship, are based not only on the impressions which I received from employers of labour and Government officials, but on those which were conveyed to my mind by the words and the manner of the natives themselves, slaves, freed slaves, or Wa-Pemba, as the case might be.

In the first place, I should like to state most clearly, in case there may be any doubt remaining on the subject in the minds of those who are not personally acquainted with the country, that, judging from my own experience, there is no slave left in Pemba who does

not know that freedom may be had for the asking. If, therefore, a slave does not apply to the Courts his inaction is due, not to a want of knowledge, but, probably, either to an inherent dislike to anything that is new and to the exertion which its attainment would entail, or to a feeling that it is better to remain a slave with a home and a master to fall back upon in old age or adversity than to undertake the personal responsibilities which, in an independent existence in a cold and unsympathetic world, would necessarily have to be faced. In the early days of the Decree the reluctance of the slaves to apply for their emancipation was ascribed in some measure, and, I believe, quite correctly, to a certain obloquy which used to attach to those who obtained their freedom from the Government against the wishes of their masters; this feeling has now nearly disappeared; there is no doubt but that a man who has been voluntarily freed by his master considers himself a superior person to the "Hadim-wa-Sirka," or ordinary Government-freed slave, but there are now so many who possess this title that its derogatory significance is almost forgotten, and the decision of a slave to apply for it or not is now but a matter of expediency.

In my despatch of the 21st February last I discussed at some length the system of labour contracts which had been initiated with a view to the prevention of vagrancy, and expressed the opinion, not only that it had to a very considerable extent achieved the object with which it was conceived, but that, while it had proved distinctly beneficial to the employers of labour, it had at the same time conferred no hardship on the freed slaves. This opinion was amply confirmed during my latest visit to Pemba. Some of the freed slaves there are working on written, others on verbal contracts, but in each case I found that they were thoroughly conversant with the terms to which they and their employers had mutually agreed, and quite alive to the fact that, in the event of those conditions not being fulfilled, they could either enforce them in the Courts or have themselves transferred to another plantation.

But the cases in which the Courts are called upon to interfere are very limited in number, for the Arab is naturally anxious to keep all the labour that he can obtain, and is, therefore, in most cases quite as careful as the slave is to see that the latter has all the privileges which he can legally demand, and which can make him contented with his position. In some cases, indeed, the employer goes beyond the letter of the contract; on one shamba which I visited, the materials for building had not only been supplied free of cost, but the huts erected by the land-owner; on another, the freed slaves were paid by piece-work, even on the days on which they were bound to work for their employer; and on many plantations the plots of ground allotted to them for their own cultivation were larger than the most paternal Government would think of exacting.

At every point of my journey I gave the freed slaves an opportunity of bringing before me any complaint which they might wish to make against their employers, or any suggestions which they might care to put forward with a view to the amelioration of the conditions under which they served, but the replies which I received were extremely few. At one shamba a complaint was made that the receptacle in which the cloves were measured contained more than a pishi; this statement was tested in my presence and found to be correct, and Mr. Lister gave orders for the plantation to be supplied with brass measures, issued and stamped by Government. At another place an old woman informed me that the ground allotted to her was insufficient for her needs, but, as I found on inspection that she had one plot of about 25 square yards under mohogo, and another of the same size under rice, neither of them very well cared for, and that there was, moreover, a considerable extent of waste land which was at the disposal of any one who would take the trouble of clearing it, I could not regard the grievance as a real one. Another woman stated that her husband had left her in the morning without sufficient food for her maintenance during the day; there was, however, a nice crop of mohogo on the ground which had been apportioned to her husband and herself, and it was not difficult, therefore, to prove to this champion of woman's rights that she had the remedy in her own hands. With these trivial exceptions, there was no word of complaint uttered by the freed slaves, and I believe that they are, as a whole, quite contented with their lot, and perfectly satisfied with the conditions under which they earn their livelihood.

In my despatch of the 21st February I dealt with certain objections which had been raised against the system of labour contracts; these objections were taken from a letter which had been written home by Mr. Herbert Armitage, of the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba. During the course of a long conversation which took place at Chaki Chaki on the 8th instant between Mr. Armitage, Mr. Rogers, and myself, Mr. Armitage stated that he had no objection in principle to the contracts, but that he would prefer to see a system of daily wages substituted for that under which the freed slave has to work for three days a week for his employer in return for a plot of ground for his own cultivation and certain other privileges. I am personally of opinion that it is better

for the freed slave himself, as well as for the land-owner, that the former should be induced to settle down permanently on one plantation and to work methodically, rather than that he should be allowed to wander about from shamba to shamba, or, if that is made impossible, to do his work spasmodically, as his inclination or his physical necessities dictate; but, leaving that consideration out of the question for the moment, I am somewhat doubtful whether the freed slave would himself appreciate the change, for, in the first place, I do not think that many Arabs could afford to pay him all the year round, and, secondly, even if regular paid employment could be found for him, he would lose the interest which he almost invariably takes in, and the profits which he often makes out of, the cultivation of his own allotment.

On the Friends' Industrial Mission Station at Banani, the only plantation on which monetary wages are regularly paid, the men receive 10 and the women 8 pice a-day during six days of the week, as compared with the ordinary town rate of 16 pice, and they have also to hand over to the Mission 20 per cent. of what they produce on their allotments; they are paid 3 pice a pishi for picking cloves. Three cases came under my notice whilst I was at Pemba of men who had lived for some time at Banani and had subseqnently emigrated to other plantations, thus having had an opportunity of testing both systems in turn. One, Sadala by name, the man whom I mentioned above as being able to gather 20 pishi of cloves in the day, told me that he had left the Mission because more work was expected of him than he was able to do. Another, Farajala, stated that his reason for moving was that he had not sufficient ground or time to grow mohogo, and that one-fifth of what he produced was taken from him; "it is slavery," he exclaimed. The third case was that of Ufunguo, which was mentioned in my despatch of the 21st February as that of a man who had not been allowed to return to Banani, where he had previously been working, after being freed by the Court; he was subsequently given another opportunity of going back to the Mission, but refused to do so, preferring to work on the three-days-a-week system in vogue elsewhere. Ufunguo was afterwards guilty, I regret to say, of breaking into one of the Mission-houses, and is now undergoing a term of two months' imprisonment for his ingratitude.

It will not, I am confident, be imagined that I have brought forward these cases in any spirit of hostility to the Friends' Industrial Mission, or to their methods. The Society is, I am convinced, doing a great deal of good work in Pemba, and I am sure that the object which they have always in view is the welfare of the natives who are committed to their charge; but as some of their members have strongly criticized the system of labour contracts introduced by the Government of His Highness the Sultan, it is, I think, only fair to mention instances from among their own people which tend in a contrary direction. And, in addition to the examples cited above, there is the testimony of eighty freed slaves established on a Government plantation at Kilulu, who stated, on the question being put to them, that they would prefer to remain on the ordinary contract system to being paid on a monetary basis.

The contract system has, in my opinion, several advantages and but few objections, and the evidence which I have obtained goes to show that it is a popular one with the natives. It is possible that with a purely cash system the actual amount of money earned by the freed slaves would be greater, provided, of course, that monetary wages were always obtainable, but the decision even of this point would probably rest with themselves; if they did not want to do more work than they were compelled to do, it would doubtless pay them better to earn their 8 or 10 pice a-day, and spend what spare time they had in the cultivation of produce for their own consumption; but if they were really industrious they could, with four days a-week at their own disposal, make as much or more out of their allotments or out of piece-work elsewhere than they could earn by six days' ordinary work at a settled wage.

And even if it could be proved that the adoption of the contract system entailed some small individual loss, I should still be of opinion that a fixed residence, a settled occupation, a methodical life, and a contented mind were advantages which outweighed any objection which could be taken to the system on financial grounds.

There is only one other point in connection with these labour contracts which appears to call for remark. When I left Zanzibar in February last, the contract between a freed slave and his employer was always in writing, and was signed and registered in the Court before its provisions came into force. On my return from England in July I found that Mr. Rogers, in deference to representations which he had received from a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, had instructed Mr. Farler to discontinue the system, and to replace it by one of verbal agreements only. During my recent visit to Pemba I was able to ascertain the views of both the Arabs and the natives on this question, and I found that on both sides they were practically unanimous in their preference for the

written contracts under which thay are able to enforce the conditions to which they have mutually agreed.

On most of the plantations on which a system of verbal contracts was in force, I was informed that a considerable number of the freed slaves, amonnting, in one case, to 15 per cent. of those engaged, had run away during the first month or so of their engagement, and that little or no effort had been made to trace them in view of the difficulty which it was felt would be experienced in proving that they had voluntarily agreed to perform certain duties for a definite period. From shamba owners, on the other hand, whose labourers were on written contracts, I heard little complaint of desertion. It is obvious that, from the points of view of the employer as well as of the employed, it is easier to enforce the conditions of service if those conditions are in writing and registered in the Courts; but there are other grounds on which the written contracts would appear to be preferable.

In the first place, they act as a direct check on vagrancy, not only because the moral effect of having an agreement to which they have affixed their signature prevents the freed slaves, as I have shown, from running away, but because, if the moral restraint is insufficient, the due fulfilment of their obligations can be practically and legally enforced. In the second place, this prevention of vagrancy has, I believe, a great moral and educational value for the people themselves, in that it induces them to live a settled and methodical existence, and to take a personal interest in the cultivation of the soil.

And, in the third place, it is of distinct advantage to the planter to know that he has a certain definite amount of labour to depend upon for the cultivation of his land and the harvesting of his crops. Upon these grounds I was able to convince Mr. Rogers of the advantages enjoyed by written over verbal contracts, and instructions were given before we left Pemba that the former system was to be resumed.

In my despatch of the 21st February last, I referred to the institution of labour bureaux in the Island of Pemba, but I was unable to offer any useful comment on a system which I had had no personal opportunity of examining.

The Wa-Pemba, who are now estimated to number about 20,000, are the original inhabitants of the island, who, although they retreated before the Arab invasion, have, like the Wa-Hadimu, in Zanzibar, and the Wa-Tumbatu, in the island of that name retained their independence. They are an agricultural race, and are scattered about Pemba in settlements of greater or less extent, which are under the direction of a series of Elders known by the title of "Shaha." At the commencement of the last clove-harvest the Sultan, in anticipation of a heavy crop and a scarcity of labour, wrote letters to the Shaha, ordering them to co-operate with Mr. Farler in an attempt to induce such of the Wa-Pemba as were not wholly employed in the management of their own plantations to assist the Arabs in surrounding districts to gather their cloves. The results of this experiment and the conditions on which the men were engaged were fully explained in the Report from Mr. Farler which was inclosed in my despatch.

During the present clove season 2,255 free labourers have, so far, been provided by the bureaux, and I saw and conversed with many of them. They are for the most part engaged on verbal agreements, which they have made individually with their employers, aud as they all have homes of their own to which they return when their day's work is done, there does not appear to be the same reason in their case as there does in that of the freed slaves for the contracts to be in writing. They are still very independent, and their work is somewhat fitful in character, but they generally carry out what they have agreed to do.

One is bound to admit that this system is a good one in the interests of the country, and I do not see that on other grounds it can reasonably be objected to. The orders issued by the Sultan were, doubtless, those of an autocrat, but obedience to them entails no extraordinary hardship and no great interference with the liberty of the subject, and whilst it obliges the people of the country to contribute something to the general welfare, it also enables them to make a very respectable profit out of the transaction. The only complaint brought before me in connection with the labour bureaux was that of a man who had been ordered to pick the cloves of a neighbouring Arab, whilst those on his own shamba had not yet been gathered. Mr. Farler at once ordered inquiries to be made, and sent for the Shaha of the district to come to his office in Chaki Chaki.

The only other question of any importance which came up for discussion in connection with the Decree was as to whether any means could be devised for equalizing the distribution of labour without unduly interfering with the liberty of choice to which the freed slaves are entitled in selecting the shamba on which they are to reside. This is a question of some difficulty. It is, of course, very desirable, in fairness to the cultivators

and in the interests of the land, that the labour should, as it becomes available, be distributed as equally as possible over the districts in which it is required, but it is at the same time most important that the freed slaves should not be coerced in any way, or be sent to localities which they dislike or to employers whom they distrust. And where missionary bodies are also employers of labour, it becomes a still more difficult matter to deal with, for by limiting the number of freed slaves who may be engaged by them, one may be depriving a certain number of natives of the religious and educational advantages which they could not enjoy elsewhere. But, whilst giving all due weight to this consideration, I think that it is only reasonable to expect that any clove-grower who wishes to employ free labour for what are, strictly speaking, commercial purposes, should be able to allot to each labourer so engaged, for his own cultivation, a piece of ground which should be sufficient to meet his personal requirements, and to create and maintain in him an interest in the soil and in the plantation on which he lives.

I have discussed this point very carefully with Mr. Rogers, and we have agreed that, whilst it would be undesirable at present to arbitrarily limit the number of freed slaves that can be engaged by any one person, or to establish a fixed ratio between the number of trees on a plantation and the number of labourers to be employed there, a more equal distribution of labour might to some extent be secured by legislation on the lines which I have suggested. The contract form which has been hitherto in use, and of which I have the honour to inclose a copy herewith, stipulates only for "sufficient land" for the labourer's personal use; it will in future provide that such land is not to be less than 40 yards by 40 yards in extent; a plot of this size should be ample for the freed slave's requirements, and I do not consider that it is more than his employer can be fairly required to apportion to him.

The total number of Pemba slaves freed under the Decree in the course of this year was, up to the time of my visit, 372, of whom 153 had been emancipated during the first three months of the year, 109 in the June quarter, and 110 between the 1st July and the 6th September, as compared with 80, 63, and 11, respectively, during the corresponding periods of 1901; these comparatively higher figures may be ascribed to a reduction in the usual rainfall during the first six months of this year, and, so far as the September quarter is concerned, to the fact that the clove crop in the southern districts of the island is below the average.

In my last Slavery Report, I ventured to predict that the applications made to the Courts would increase or diminish accordingly as the agricultural conditions were bad or good; it would appear that these anticipations have, so far, been realized, and I am still of the opinion that the agricultural outlook will for the future be the ptedominating factor in determining the number of slaves who apply for their freedom under the Decree.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Specimen of Contract.

*Date*_____190 .

Name_____

Shamba_____

Term of years_____

Signature_____

Witness_____

Zanzibar,_____190 .

I hereby agree to work for_____on his shamba at_____three days in every week for a term of_____years, in return for sufficient land on that shamba for my personal use, care in sickness, material for building my house, and food until I obtain my first crop.

Signed_____

Witness_____

No. 5.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received October 27.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, October 2, 1902.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Herbert Armitage, of the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba, and of my reply thereto, respecting the status of concubines under the Decree of 1897.

During my recent visit to Pemba, I saw the woman Msichoke, to whom Mr. Armitage refers, and, in conjunction with Mr. Rogers, made very careful inquiry into her case. She admitted that she had raised no objection at the time of her transfer to the son of her former mistress, and that she had been quite willing to live with him, but she did not wish to have her liberty fettered by the seclusion which her position as a concubine would entail; it was, in fact, exactly one of the cases which I had in my mind in replying to the question numbered 2 in Mr. Armitage's letter.

There appeared to be some doubt as to whether, as a slave, this woman had changed hands before or after the promulgation of Seyyid Ali's Decree of the 1st August, 1890, and whether she was therefore entitled to her freedom under Article 3 of that Decree; but it was clear that she had never occupied the position of a "suria" as it is understood by the Mahommedan law, for the customary formalities had not in her case been complied with, she had not consented of her own free will to become a concubine, she had done the ordinary work and lived the ordinary life of a domestic slave, and she had borne no children to her master.

On these grounds we came to the conclusion that, whatever might have been the date of her transfer, she could not be properly regarded as a "concubine," and that she did not therefore come within the provisions of Article 5 of the Decree of the 7th April, 1897, and instructions were given that she was to receive her freedom on application.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Friends' Industrial Mission to Mr. Cave, August 20, 1902.

[See Inclosure in No. 3.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Mr. Cave to Friends' Industrial Mission.

Dear Sir, *Zanzibar, August 27, 1902.*

I PROPOSE to pay a visit to Pemba on the 6th September, and will then make careful inquiry into the case, mentioned in your letter of the 20th instant, of a woman who has been refused her freedom on the ground that she is a concubine.

You ask me whether this woman can be legally carried back by force to her master's home, and, in replying to this question, I shall presume that she is recognized by the law as a concubine, for if she were an ordinary domestic slave her master's authority over her would end as soon as she has expressed a desire for emancipation.

It was decreed at the time of the abolition of the legal status of slavery that, in order to avoid any disturbance in the family life of the inhabitants of this country, and to fulfil the pledges to that effect which had been given to the Sultan by His Majesty's Government, the position of concubines was, with certain exceptions, to remain the same as it had been previous to the promulgation of the Decree. It follows, therefore, that the Law of Islam, which is the law of the country, is, in so far as it affects the status of concubines, and in so far as it has not been modified by the exceptions to which I have referred, just as much in force to-day as it was before the legal status of slavery was abolished. By this law a concubine can be compelled to

return to the harem, but a Mahommedan Court, in deciding a question of this kind, would be influenced by the following considerations. In the first place, a slave girl cannot in Zanzibar be made a concubine against her will. In the second place, a concubine can always obtain her freedom if she can prove that she has been cruelly treated, and I believe that this provision would receive a liberal interpretation in the Courts of His Highness the Sultan. And, lastly, a concubine who has not borne children may, under Article 5 of the Decree, be redeemed with the sanction of the Court.

If, then, a Mahommedan Court, on being applied to by a subject of His Highness the Sultan for the restoration of a concubine who had deserted him, were satisfied that she had accepted that position of her own free will, that she had suffered no ill-treatment, and that she had borne children to her master, I think that the Judge would be obliged to enforce the law and to make an order for her return.

My replies to the other questions contained in your letter follow to a great extent out of what I have already stated.

1. It appears to me that the provisions of Article 5 of the Decree were intended to apply to the future as well as to the past, for a distinct assurance was given to the Sultan at the time of its promulgation that no interference was contemplated with the family life of His Highness' subjects. I am therefore of opinion that the provisions of the Decree which refer to concubines are equally applicable to those slaves who have become concubines since the date of the Decree as to those who already occupied that position in April 1897, always provided (*a*) that they have not been made concubines against their will, and (*b*) that they are the legally-held slaves of the person whose harem they have entered.

2. A slave can only be made a concubine with her own consent. It frequently happens that a slave-girl refuses to become a "suria" in order to avoid the restraints which the life of the harem would impose upon her.

3. The question as to whether a woman has or has not been recognized as a concubine can only, if she has borne no children to her master, be decided by the production of evidence. It is customary for a person who wishes to give to one of his slaves the position of a "suria" to state his intention of doing so in the presence of witnesses; the woman subsequently lives in retirement for a period, and is eventually admitted into the harem. A woman who performs the ordinary duties of a domestic slave, and who at the same time has intercourse with her master, without having been through the customary formalities, should not, in my opinion, if no children result from the union, be regarded as a concubine for the purposes of the Decree.

4. It is not lawful to make a gift of a slave either to become a concubine or for any other purpose.

5. A slave applying for freedom and failing to obtain it has, under Article 6 of the Decree, a right of appeal to the Sultan or to a Judge delegated by His Highness for that purpose. A notice given to the Court by which the case has been decided, together with a request to that effect addressed to the Slavery Commissioner, would insure the appeal being forwarded to the proper quarter.

6. It is permissible for a slave, as for a free man, to call witnesses on his behalf in any case in which his interests are concerned. The question as to whether a person not directly interested should be heard on behalf of one of the parties to the case must be decided by the Court, but I do not think that a request to that effect would be lightly refused if it could be shown that the course proposed would assist the ends of justice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

No. 6.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir C. Eliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 3, 1902.

I HAVE received, and read with interest, Mr. Cave's despatch of the 24th September, in which, with reference to my despatch of the 30th April, he reports on his recent visit to Pemba, and on the general working of the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

The report has special reference to the working of the labour bureaux and the

experiments which have been introduced with a view to securing a regular and evenly distributed supply of labourers to the plantations of the island.

Mr. Cave's explanations are clear and precise, and I approve the action which he has taken in the matter, as reported in his despatch. The relations of the Sultan of Zanzibar to his subjects are, in my opinion, correctly described by Mr. Cave, and it is not my intention to question his right to compel the free native population to labour. But His Majesty's Government cannot forget that the Sultan of Zanzibar is under the protection of His Majesty, or divest themselves of all responsibility for seeing that this right is only exercised with every possible precaution against abuse.

Mr. Cave should, therefore, watch the proceedings under existing Regulations with the greatest vigilance, and should report, without delay, any cases of hardship which may come under his notice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

[illegible] No. 6 (1902).

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Slavery and the Slave Trade in East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

[illegible]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty. December 1902.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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